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## XXII.—JAUFRE RUDEL AND THE LADY OF DREAMS

The Provençal biographer's account of Jaufre Rudel's dying visit to the "faraway lady" was first seriously called in dispute by E. Stengel. Afterward, Gaston Paris<sup>1</sup> disposed of the whole legend, as well as of the general reliability of the Provençal biographers, whose testimony had been accepted without question half a century before by Fauriel and others. Monaci, while granting the legendary character of "Melissenda," attempted to identify Jaufre Rudel's beloved with Eleanor of Aquitaine.<sup>2</sup> Appel, arguing from the number of religious phrases occurring in Jaufre's poems, concluded that the lady of his devotions was the Virgin.<sup>3</sup> Appel's theory, supported as it is by a vast erudition, is confuted in my opinion by P. Savj-Lopez.<sup>4</sup> Giulio Bertoni would adopt a middle ground between those who, like Appel, maintain the idealism of Jaufre's love, or like Monaci, believe that his passion was fixed upon a woman of earth, more or less identified by allusions in his verse.<sup>5</sup> Ramiro Ortiz would accept the conclusions of Monaci, etc., admitting the re-

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Historique*, lxxii (1893), pp. 225 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Serie IV, Scienze Morali*, etc., vol. II (1893), pp. 927 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, cvii (1901), pp. 338 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Rendiconti, Serie V*, vol. xi (1902), pp. 212-225.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, xxxv (1911), pp. 533-542. Bertoni's position, which might suffer from being too rapidly generalized, is quoted here from p. 533: "È un fatto che l'immagine terrena, che si profila dietro i versi del soave sire di Blaia, appare così trasparente e idealizzata, da perdere quasi del tutto i caratteri della realtà, astraendosi nelle regioni della fantasia e dei sogni."

ality of the lady, but feels that either Jaufre Rudel was directly influenced by certain passages of William of Poitiers, or else some of the minstrels who sang Jaufre's poetry made interpolations borrowed from William.<sup>6</sup>

Before venturing to present my own view regarding the identity of the faraway lady, it may be in order to essay a few general remarks concerning historical method. The conclusions of Gaston Paris about the unreliability of the Provençal biographers appear to have found universal acceptance, and reviewers, such as Schultz-Gora, have contented themselves with repeating and enlarging upon the opinions which he so admirably expressed. While uniformly condemning the *razos* and the *vidas*, however, many critics have proceeded to rely heavily upon the text of the poems,<sup>7</sup> although, in perhaps the majority of cases, this text is itself the basis of the discredited biographies. Several instances could be cited where an entire episode in the supposedly scientific biography of a troubadour has been founded on a solitary, and doubtful, reading of one or two verses.

Let me dare to say it: the testimony of the poetry of the troubadours must be received with almost as great caution as that of the *razos*, and for nearly the same reasons. Gaston Paris, in his splendid article on the biography of Jaufre Rudel, refers to a stock legend which attached itself to several of the troubadours, and was even found in the *Cento Novelle Antiche*. May I note a single, but typical case of the same sort in the poetry of the troubadours? Bertran de Born, in order to find a lady equal

<sup>6</sup> *Zeitschrift, op. cit.*, pp. 543-554.

<sup>7</sup> Schultz-Gora, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, XCII (1894), p. 225, says that the *razos* and *vidas* "müssen fortwährend durch die Lieder selbst . . . kontrolliert werden . . ." Can the blind lead the blind?

to Maeuz de Montanhac, imagines a being composed of the virtues of a multitude of other ladies.

Frescha color natural  
 Pren, bels Cembelis, de vos  
 E'l doutz esguart amoros  
 E fatz gran sobrieira  
 Quar re'i lais,  
 Qu'anc res de be no us sofrais;  
 Mi dons na Elis deman  
 Son adrech parlar gaban,  
 Que'm do a mi dons ajuda,  
 Puois non er fada ni muda, etc.<sup>8</sup>

The same idea is found in a poem by Elias de Barjols, who nevertheless reverses the process and imagines a composite gentleman, instead of the lady fantastically conceived by Bertran de Born.

Pus negus no es tan pros  
 Que us o digua, ni que ja sapcha tan  
 Que vos o aus dir, ni que vos o man.  
 . . . . .  
 Farai n'un tot nou qu'es bos,  
 E penrai de las faissons  
 De quadaun de las melhores qu'auran,  
 Tro vos aiatz cavalier benestan.  
 N Aymars me don sa coyndia,  
 EN Trencaleos  
 Sa gensozia, EN Randos  
 Donar qu'es la senhoria  
 El Dalfis sos belhs resplos,  
 EN Peyr cuy es Monleos  
 Do m son guabar, e volrai d'EN Brian  
 Cavallairia, e'l sen vuelh d'EN Bertran.<sup>9</sup>

That the troubadours had a common stock of ideas, particularly the expressions which connected love with the feudal system, and that these ideas found among them

<sup>8</sup> *Bertran de Born*, ed. Stimming (1892), no. 32, vv. 21 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Raynouard, *Choix de Poésies des Troubadours*, III, p. 351.

endless repetition, is too obvious to have escaped frequent comment. The subject is excellently discussed, for example, by Gaspary, in connection with the Sicilian School. In eulogies—and Provençal poetry is studded with eulogies—one may find numberless repetitions. Compare, for example, the two celebrated laments by Bertran de Born on the Young King, “Mon chan fenisc ab dol et ab mal traire,”<sup>10</sup> and “Si tuit li dol e'l plor e'lh marrimen,”<sup>11</sup> with the *planh* of Gaucelm Faidit over Richard Cœur-de-Lion, “Fortz chauza es, que tot lo maior dan.”<sup>12</sup>

Ramiro Ortiz, it has been noted, has remarked on a close connection between the language of Jaufre Rudel and that of William of Poitiers. He might have added that both the thought and language of Jaufre Rudel bear a marked resemblance to the commonplaces found in many other poets.<sup>13</sup> Jaufre has the banalities of feudal ser-

<sup>10</sup> Stimming, ed. 1892, no. 8.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, no. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Raynouard, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 54-56.

<sup>13</sup> Gaston Paris says: “ Ses poésies ont déjà . . . un caractère conventionnel: il n'y faut pas chercher l'expression naïve et spontanée de sentiments vrais; d'ailleurs, la forme rythmique en est très artistique, le style en est très étudié, et les formules convenues y abondent: toutes, sauf une, commencent par cette évocation du printemps et de ses manifestations typiques qui était le style dans la poésie courtoise. Ce sont des exercices de l'esprit et non des effusions du cœur . . .” *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

Nevertheless, for the poem numbered I in the collection of Stimming, Paris is far more indulgent. He thinks that Jaufre Rudel here “trouve même des accents d'une sincérité rare dans la poésie courtoise. . . .” (*Op. cit.*, p. 239). Savj-Lopez declares that the poet “freme di sincera passione. . . .” (*Op. cit.*, p. 218). The following comparisons may serve to show that even this poem of Jaufre's, which has won praise for its freshness and sincerity, is quite as commonplace as the others.

D'un' amistat soi envejos,  
car no sai joja plus valen. (*Jaufre Rudel*, ed. Stimming, I, vv. 8, 9.)

vice, as Savj-Lopez has observed—the confidant, and the excessive humility, which prompts him twice to express a

Per una joja m'esbaudis  
D'una qu'anc re non amiey tan.

(*Cercamon*, ed. Dejeanne, *Annales du Midi*, xvii, 1905, II, vv. 13, 14.)

. . . que bonam fos  
Sim fazia damor prezen.

(*Jaufre Rudel*, I, vv. 10, 11.)

Toz mos talenz m'ademplira  
Ma donna, sol d'un bais m'aizis.

(*Cercamon*, I, vv. 43, 44.)

D'aquest' amor soi cossiros  
velhan e pueis sompnhans durmen.

(*Jaufre Rudel*, I, vv. 15, 16.)

Totz trassalh e brant e fremis  
Per s'amor, dormen o velhan.

(*Cercamon*, II, vv. 31, 32.)

mas sa beutatz nom val nién,  
car nulhs amicx nom essenha  
cum ieu ja n'aja bon saber.

(*Jaufre Rudel*, I, 19-21. For the conventional character of the confidant here alluded to, cf. Savj-Lopez, *op. cit.*, p. 214, and note 1.)

E domna nom pot ren valer  
Per riquessa ni per poder  
Se jois d'amor no l'espira. (*Cercamon*, I, vv. 19-21.)

Jaufre Rudel dares avow his love to his lady. Cercamon does so also, but apologizes for this violation of the rules of the courts of love:

Ges tan leu no l'enquesira  
S'eus sabes cant leu s'afranquis. (I, vv. 15-16.)

Bernard de Ventadour restrains himself with difficulty from the rashness of the others:

Meravilh me cum puese durar  
Que no'lh demostre mon talan. (*Mahn, Werke*, I, p. 12.)

Jaufre Rudel speaks of actually going to his lady:

que quand ieu vauc ves lieis corren,  
vejaire m'es, qu'a reversos  
m'en torn, e qu'ella m'an fugen. (I, vv. 23-25.)

desire to go to his lady disguised as a pilgrim.<sup>14</sup> Once he would steal in as a thief:

Lai n'irai al sieu repaire  
laire.<sup>15</sup>

But substantially the same idea is expressed by Bernard de Ventadour:

Ben la volgra sola trobar  
Que dormis o'n fezes semblan,  
Per qu'ieu l'embles un dous baiser.<sup>16</sup>

A similar banality is to be seen in the use of the word "ric." Jaufre Rudel writes:

Ric me fai la noig en somnian  
can  
m'es vis q'e mos bratz l'enclauza.<sup>17</sup>

Bernard de Ventadour just falls short of the same experience:

Per pauc me tenc qu'ieu enves lieys no cor.

(l. c.)

Jaufre Rudel declares:

De tal dompna sui cobeitos,  
a cui non aus dir mon talen,  
anz quan remire sas faissos,  
totz lo cors m'en vai esperden. (I, vv. 29-32.)

Cercamon says:

Quan suy ab lieys si m'esbahis  
Qu'ieu no sai dire mon talan (II, vv. 15, 16.)

Again:

Tal paor ai que no'm falhis  
No sai pensar cum la deman. (II, vv. 33, 34.)

The conventionality of the description of the lady by Jaufre Rudel will be discussed later.

<sup>14</sup> *Jaufre Rudel*, ed. Stimming (1873), v, v. 33, and vi, v. 34. Tristan resorts to this disguise to see Isolde. Cf. G. Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 246, and n. 3.

<sup>15</sup> G. Bertoni, *op. cit.*, p. 540. As Savj-Lopez has remarked, the figure of the thief is imitated by Pier della Vigna:

Or potess 'eo venire a voi, amorosa,  
Come lo larone ascoso e non paresse!

<sup>16</sup> Mahn, *Werke*, I, p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> Bertoni, *l. c.*

Cercamon writes:

E sivals d'aitant m'enrequis  
Que disses que ma donna era.<sup>18</sup>

Augier declares:

Quan m'auretz dat so don m'avetz dig d'oc,  
Serai plus ricx qu'el senher de Marroc.<sup>19</sup>

In French, there is Perrin d'Angicourt, who declares:

et me puet plue enrichir,  
que faire roi de Cesaire.<sup>20</sup>

In Spanish, Pero Ferrus avers:

Nunca fue Rrey Lysuarte  
De rriquesas tan bastado  
Commo yo, nin tan pagado.<sup>21</sup>

Space forbids carrying further these comparisons, which lead moreover to conclusions only too obvious to even the most casual reader of Provençal poetry. I should like, however, to lay special emphasis upon the use of stock proper names among the troubadours. Every hero was either a Roland, an Alexander, or both. Every lover was a Tristan. Every lady that he wooed was an Isolde, and fair, of course. The same liberty prevailed with regard to geographical names. The following is the list of those who rejoiced at the death of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, as recounted by Gaucelm Faidit:

E Sarrazi, Ture, Payan e Persan. . .<sup>22</sup>

Here is the list of the nations who mourned the Young King:

Engles e Norman,  
Breto e Yrlan,

<sup>18</sup> Edition Dejeanne, *Annales du Midi*, xvii (1905), 1, vv. 24-25.

<sup>19</sup> Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 105.

<sup>20</sup> Ed. G. Steffens, (1905), no. 3, p. 197.

<sup>21</sup> *El Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* (1851), no. 301.

<sup>22</sup> Raynouard, *Choix*, III, p. 55.

Guia e Guasco  
 Et Anjaus pren dan;  
 E Maines e Tors,  
 Franza tro Compenha  
 De plorar no· s tenha  
 E Flandres de Gan  
 Tro'l port de Guisan  
 Ploran, neis li Alaman.<sup>23</sup>

The following, according to Giraud de Calanson, lamented the Infante Ferdinand:

. . . . li Franses ne fan dol e grans critz  
 E li Engles, tug silh d'ams los regnatz,  
 Li Alamans, totz lors riech parentatz,  
 Senhor del mon, e'l valen emperaire,  
 E Samsuenha, Espanha et Aragos. . . .<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps the most formidable list of all occurs in a poem by Rambaud de Vaqueiras,<sup>25</sup> in which he imagines that ladies from a great number of cities make war upon Beatrice, out of jealousy for her beauty. Obviously what is desired in such roll-calls of names is resonance, rather than strict historical accuracy, or even a decent regard for the bounds of poetic license.

For this reason, let us beware of arguments like those of Monaci, who would assume that the faraway lady loved

<sup>23</sup> Bertran de Born, *op. cit.*, no. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Raynouard, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 66.

<sup>25</sup> Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 260 ff. The foregoing citations are only one step removed from the use of geographical names illustrated below:

Qu'ien no vuolh aver Ravena,  
 Ni Roais,  
 Ses cujar qu'ela 'm retena. (Bertran de Born, *op. cit.*,  
 no. 34, vv. 22-24.)

Que ses la vostr' atendensa  
 No volgr' aver Proensa  
 Ab tota Lombardia. . . . (Augier, in Raynouard, *op. cit.*,  
 III, p. 105.)

by Jaufre Rudel was the mother of two of the monarchs mentioned, Eleanor of Aquitaine. His inference is drawn from the following lines:

. . . car gens Peitavina  
de Beiriu e de Gujana  
s'esgau per leis e Bretanha.<sup>26</sup>

It is true that Monaci is not very tenacious of his theory, which is furthermore sufficiently disposed of by Appel on other grounds.<sup>27</sup> However, accepted as it is by Ramiro Ortiz and not rejected by Savj-Lopez, it represents a type of reasoning all too frequent; so that it seemed proper to make the foregoing citations in order to demonstrate the danger of relying upon a mere list of proper names in Provençal poetry.

More serious is the contention of Savj-Lopez.<sup>28</sup> He says: "Invece della canzone di partenza *Quand lo rosinhols* abbiamo la certezza che il poeta s'è avvicinato a lei, sì che per la volta dà qualche particolare sulla sua persona (vv. 12, 39-40). . . ."

The following are the verses referred to:

quel cors a gras, delgat e gen (v. 12)

and

. . . c'ajal cors tant gen  
grailes, fresca, ab cor plazen. . . (vv. 39-40.)

Surely the conventional character of the descriptions of women in Provençal poetry, especially in the early period, has been sufficiently demonstrated by R. Renier.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Jaufre Rudel, *op. cit.*, no. 2, vv. 33-35.

<sup>27</sup> Appel, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

<sup>28</sup> Savj-Lopez, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>29</sup> R. Renier, *Il Tipo Estetico della Donna nel Medioevo*. Ancona, 1881.

For this particular description, the following examples may serve to show its perfect banality:

E'l cors graile, delgat e fresc e lis.<sup>30</sup>

So Bernard de Ventadour declares that his lady has a "cors gens,"<sup>31</sup> "sotil,"<sup>32</sup> with "fresca color,"<sup>33</sup> a "cor guai."<sup>34</sup> Likewise the lady of Cercamon follows the regular pattern:

Genser domn' el mon no's mira,  
Bell' e blancha plus c'us hermis,  
Plus fresca que rosa ne lis.<sup>35</sup>

Let these citations suffice here, as the tables worked out by Renier seem more than adequate to establish the point. The reader is referred to them, and to that epitome of conventional descriptions given by Arnaud de Marueil.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps that will clear up the apparent inconsistency—that Jaufre Rudel is able to describe a lady whom, he has declared, he is never to see.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, it may then appear strange that Savj-Lopez has attempted to date several poems of Jaufre Rudel on the basis of the stock description.

Not only is the mention of Poitou or Bretagne insufficient to prove that Jaufre's lady was Eleanor of Aquitaine; not only is a conventional reference to the physical form of his lady inadequate to show that he ever saw her; but there is nothing really distinctive about the fact that she was far away, that he loved her without seeing her.

<sup>30</sup> Bertran de Born, *op. cit.*, no. 35, v. 35.

<sup>31</sup> Mahn, *Werke*, I, p. 17.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, vv. 36-39.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 202.

<sup>37</sup> It is here assumed that I. in the Stimming collection refers to the same person as II, III, V, and VI. Gaston Paris inclined to admit this as a possibility (*op. cit.*, p. 252, n. 1).

On this point it may not be amiss to quote the words of Gaston Paris regarding the French romance *Durmart*: “S'éprendre d'amour pour une princesse lointaine sur le seul bruit de sa beauté est un trait qui se retrouve dans les fictions romanesques de tous les peuples, et il n'y a aucun lieu de soupçonner, avec l'éditeur, dans la biographie, fabuleuse à notre avis comme au sien, du troubadour Geoffroi Rudel, la source où notre poète l'aurait puisé.”<sup>38</sup> Indeed, that there are numerous and widespread literary instances of falling in love from hearsay, and particularly in a dream, has long been recognized, and the fact was adequately discussed by Felix Liebrecht as early as 1851.<sup>39</sup> He there refers to Medea, who according to Lucian saw Jason in a dream, and became infatuated with him.<sup>40</sup> A noble knight in the *Roman des Sept Sages* dreams of loving a beautiful lady: “Ne sot, dont fu, ne de quel tierre.”<sup>41</sup> After the same fashion, the Chevalier à la Trappe falls in love with a lady, and she with him, in a dream. Neither has seen the other before, but they recognize each other from the dream.<sup>42</sup> The knight of the Red Cross likewise has a dream:

Me seemed, by my side a royll Mayd  
Her daintie limbes full softly down did lay:  
So faire a creature yet saw never sunny day.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxx (1888), p. 152.

<sup>39</sup> John Dunlop's *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen* (Felix Liebrecht's translation), Berlin, 1851, Anm. 180. Cf. Schultz-Gora in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, xcii (1894), p. 220.

<sup>40</sup> *Hermotimus*, § 73.

<sup>41</sup> Ed. Heinrich Adelbert Keller, Tübingen, 1836 (vv. 4216 ff.).

<sup>42</sup> *Fabliaux ou Contes du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, by Pierre Jean Baptiste Legrand d'Aussy (Paris, 1779), II, p. 293.

<sup>43</sup> *Fairie Queen*, Book I, Canto ix, stanza xiii (J. C. Smith ed., 1909).

Adam de la Hale receives in a vision the first inkling of the woman who seemed so captivating at first, but was destined to prove so disappointing.<sup>44</sup> In *Le Loyer des Folles Amours*, the lover dreams of meeting a maid who holds in her hands bows, darts, and arrows. This vision serves as a preface to his actual acquaintance with the woman who was to deceive him.<sup>45</sup>

There are a multitude of cases of falling in love through hearsay, other than through the medium of dreams. Crescini has cited the *salut* recounting the love felt by Azalais d'Altier for Clara Andusa, without having seen her.<sup>46</sup> Bernart d'Arnaut d'Armagnac, infatuated with a lady whose reputation has reached his ears, journeys to Tolosa to see her.<sup>47</sup> In *Aymeri de Narbonne*, Hugues de Barcelonne tells Aymeri about Hermengarde, daughter of Didier, and sister of Boniface, King of the Lombards. Aymeri falls in love with her immediately upon hearing her described.<sup>48</sup> *Le Roman de Marques de Rome* contains the story of the daughter of Daires, King of Persia. She becomes enamored of Zoroas, whose exploits she has heard of, but on whom she has never laid eyes.<sup>49</sup>

Clearly Jaufre Rudel, often referred to as the father of the "princesse lointaine" legend, will have considerable competition both at home and abroad. There is even

<sup>44</sup> *Adam de la Hale*, ed. E. de Coussemaker, 1872, pp. 299 ff.

<sup>45</sup> *Oeuvres Poétiques de Guillaume Alexis, Prieur de Bucy* (ed. Arthur Piaget & Emile Picot), Paris, 1896, I, p. 355.

<sup>46</sup> Crescini in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XIV, p. 130.

<sup>47</sup> *Il Canzoniere Provenzale II*—cod. Vaticano 3207—(edited by Louis Gauchat and Heinrich Kehrli, in the *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, v. p. 494, no. 141). Cf. Schultz-Gora, *l. c.*

<sup>48</sup> *Aymeri de Narbonne* (ed. Louis Demaison, Paris, 1887), vv. 1353-80.

<sup>49</sup> *Le Roman de Marques de Rome* (ed. Johann Alton, 1889), p. 123 [xii].

something very similar in the verse of William of Poitiers, as Ramiro Ortiz has pointed out.<sup>50</sup> William writes:

Amigu' ai ieu, no sai qui s'es  
Qu'anc non la vi, si m'ajut fes,  
Ni'm fes que'm plassa ni que'm pes,  
Ni no m'en cau.<sup>51</sup>

Again he declares:

Anc no la vi et am la fort,  
Anc no m'aic dreyt ni no'm fes tort;  
Quam no la vey, be m'en deport,  
No'm pretz un jau  
Qu'ie 'n sai gensor e bellazor  
E que mais vau.<sup>52</sup>

Similarly Jaufre Rudel sings of a lady whom he has never seen:

Nulhs hom nos meravilh de mi  
S'ieu am so que ja nom veira,  
Qu'el cor joi d'autr' amor non a  
Mas d'aissella que anc non vi;  
Ni per nulh joi aitan no ri,  
E no sai quals bes m'en venra a a.<sup>53</sup>

There is this difference to be observed between William of Poitiers and Jaufre Rudel, however. William appar-

<sup>50</sup> Ramiro Ortiz may have derived his suggestion from Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 247. On this page, note 2, Paris also notes some imitations of Jaufre Rudel's "amor lonhdana." In the case of Guillem de Béziers, at least (Raynouard, *Choix*, III, p. 133), I see no necessity for assuming such a direct imitation. May the source of his "anc nous vi" not be William of Poitiers' "anc no la vi"? Or, in view of the fact that both poets are evidently using a highly artificial and conventional form, extremely "éloignée de la réalité" as Paris would admit, may they not have had a common source?

<sup>51</sup> A. Jeanroy, *Poésies de Guillaume IX, Conte de Poitiers*, in *Annales du Midi*, XVII (1905), no. 4, vv. 25-30.

<sup>52</sup> Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, no. 5, vv. 31 ff.

<sup>53</sup> Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-260 [No sap chantar quil so no di].

ently does not take the unseen lady too seriously, but consoles himself with the reflection

Qu'ie 'n sai gensor e bellazor,  
E que mais vau.

For Jaufre Rudel, on the other hand, the literary device of William becomes a central theme. We shall presently note another instance of the same sort.

The attempts of serious critics to identify the lady appear strange. The scraps of the concrete which Jaufre has allowed us, the castle, the husband, the *gilos*,<sup>54</sup> her renown in Poitou and in Bretagne, and her form—like the form of every other lady celebrated by the troubadours of this period—are all of a piece. Any of the other instances of love at hearsay which have been cited would furnish more detail. Even the legend cited by Gaston Paris<sup>55</sup> as an “exemple typique” to prove the “véritable néant au point de vue historique” of the Provençal biographies furnishes us with the greatest detail, in the accepted style of the *langue d'oc*. The biographer of Bertran de Born couples the legend with Maeut de Montanhac, wife of Talairans, brother of the Count of Périgord, and daughter of the Viscount of Turenne, and sister of Maria de Ventadorn and Elis de Montfort. For the biographer of Pons de Capduelh, the lady was Azalais de Mercuer, wife of a great count of Auvergne, and daughter of Bernart d'Anduza. For the biographer of Richard de Barbezieux, it was the wife of Giaufré de Tanay. In the *Novellino* the affair starts at “Puy-Notre-Dame,” in Provence, and concerns Madonna Grigia.

Not only are the fair form, and the faraway castle of

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Mahn, *Werke*, I, p. 19: E s'il gilos vos bat defor (Bernart de Ventadour).

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 235, 236.

the unseen princess purely matters of convention, not to speak of the banal conception of the poet's loving her without having seen her, but there is another characteristic feature of Jaufre Rudel's poetry quite as commonplace as these: the lady appears to him frequently in his slumber. Indeed, the poet prefers the pleasures of his dream to any solace that might come during his waking hours, and would willingly continue sleeping forever.

So passionate are the love-dreams of Jaufre, that one might conclude that here at least was a note of sincerity. Yet it will be our task not to leave such a person even this crumb of comfort, and to note that love in a dream is quite as universal a feature of literature as love at hearsay; indeed, the one motif is often connected with the other. In Solomon's Song, the bride hears in slumber the voice of her beloved: "Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat: vox dilecti mei pulsantis: Aperi mihi, soror mea, amica mea, columba mea, immaculata mea, quia caput meum plenum est rore, et cincinni mei guttis noctium."<sup>56</sup> A twelfth-century Latin poet dreams of winning the love of the goddess Leda, concluding with the exultant boast that a poor mortal man—an "homuntio"—had been accorded freely a favor which Jupiter had obtained only by compulsion.<sup>57</sup> Adelbert Keller cites from *le livre de Cassiodorus empereur de Costantinoble* a dream of Cassiodorus, to whom Helcana appears repeatedly. His desire for her waxes so ardent that he feels compelled to see her.<sup>58</sup> In *Le Bel Inconnu*, Giglain dreams of lying with the lady of the

<sup>56</sup> *Canticum Canticorum Salomonis*, v, v. 2.

<sup>57</sup> *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Litteratur* (1908), I, pp. 289-296: *Die Moderne Leda* (Wilhelm Meyer).

<sup>58</sup> *Dyocletianus Leben von Hans von Bühl*, ed. Adelbert Keller (1841), *Einleitung*, p. 26.

château of the Ile d'Or.<sup>59</sup> Durmart dreams that "la bele roine franche" kisses him, with a laugh. But "Al resveillier part son desduit."<sup>60</sup> In *Méliador*, Sagremor, awakening, regrets that his beautiful dream of Sébille is only a snare and a delusion.<sup>61</sup>

Among the troubadours, this sort of dream is a favorite device, and there is often the same note of regret at the necessity of awakening which is recurrent elsewhere, as in *Durmart* and in *Méliador*. Arnaud de Marueil would keep sleeping forever, so much does he prefer the pleasures of dreaming to the harshness of reality:

E quan m'esvelh, cug murir deziran,  
Per qu'ieu volgra aussi dormir tot l'an.<sup>62</sup>

Again he says:

Mas m'en platz us somnjatz  
De vos, quan sui colguatz,  
Que us tengues en mos bratz,  
Que d'autra esser jauzire.<sup>63</sup>

Similarly Folquet de Romans declares:

qu'eu volria toz temps dormir,  
qu'en sonjan vos pogues tenir.<sup>64</sup>

Frayre Ramon de Cornet likewise exclaims:

Per que tostamps volgra viure dormen.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. C. Hippéau, Paris, 1860, vv. 2443-50.

<sup>60</sup> *Li Romans de Durmart le Galois*, ed. E. Stengel, 1873, vv. 4097 ff.

<sup>61</sup> *Méliador*, vv. 28752-77, ed. A. Longnon, Paris, 1899.

<sup>62</sup> Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 215.

<sup>63</sup> Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 222. Cf. George Sand, *La Mare au Diable*, chap. xvii: "Depuis ce temps-là j'ai rêvé à toi toutes les nuits. Ah! comme je l'embrassais, Marie!"

<sup>64</sup> *Folquet de Romans*, ed. Rudolph Zenker, 13, vv. 29-30.

<sup>65</sup> J. B. Noulet et Camille Chabaneau: *Deux Manuscrits Provençaux du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Montpellier-Paris, 1888), p. 26.

Pier della Vigna, following the troubadours, reaches vainly for the hands he imagines he has held:

. . . et dum non invenit manus quam tenuerat, genas confestim laniat et deturpat.<sup>66</sup>

As in the case of the love at hearsay theme, William of Poitiers uses the device of the dream as an artifice:

Farai un vers de dreyt nien;  
Qu'enans fu trobatz en durmen  
Sobre chevau.<sup>67</sup>

Also:

Farai un vers, pos mi somelh  
E 'm vauc e m' estauc al solelh.<sup>68</sup>

This literary trick, with which William of Poitiers intended merely to transport the auditor into the world of fantasy, became again with Jaufre Rudel a leading theme. Jaufre professes to prefer to sleep forever, rather than to remain awake:

Anc tan suau no m'adurmi  
Mos esperitz tost non fos la,  
Ni tan d'ira non ac de sa  
Mos cors ades no fos aqui;  
Mais quant mi reissit lo mati,  
Totz mos bos sabers mi desva a a.<sup>69</sup>

It might be observed here that not only the literary device—love in slumber—but to a considerable extent the

<sup>66</sup> *Vie et Correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne*, ed. A. Huillard-Bréholles, Paris, 1864, p. 420.

<sup>67</sup> A. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, no. 4, vv. 1-6.

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.*, no. 5, vv. 1-2. Of course it is not denied that the dream had a physiological basis, and may be explained on that ground. My contention is simply that we are here dealing with something universal, both as to thought and as to literary form.

<sup>69</sup> Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

very language of Jaufre Rudel, was a commonplace. Bernart de Ventadour writes:

Lo cor ai pres d'amor,  
Que l'esperit lai cor  
Et lo cors estai alhor  
Lonh de leis. . . .<sup>70</sup>

Again:

Sels qui cuion qu'ieu sia sai<sup>71</sup>  
No sabon ges cum l'esperitz  
Es de licis privatz et aizitz,  
Silot lo cors s'en es lonhans:  
Sapchatz lo mielhers messatgiers  
Qu'ai de lieis, es mos cossiriers  
Que m recorda sos belhs semblans.

Arnaud de Marueil, in a passage already referred to, expressed himself in similar fashion. He declared that he had left his heart with his lady, where it had remained since first he met her. Wherever he was, his thoughts reverted to her; in his imaginings he paid court to her day and night. Often, when his mind seemed to be on other things, his heart would come as a messenger from his lady, and recall to him her image.<sup>72</sup>

Savj-Lopez<sup>73</sup> has demonstrated the conventional character of the religious phraseology employed by Jaufre Rudel, confuting thereby Appel's identification of Jaufre's lady as the Virgin. By the same token, let us conclude that the lady described was no person of earth.<sup>74</sup> I would deny that Jaufre "idealized" a lady who was more or less real, as Bertoni would hold, or that he made a "jeu

<sup>70</sup> Mahn, *Werke*, I, p. 24.

<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 22.

<sup>72</sup> Bartsch, *Chrestomathie Provençale* (1904), cols. 104, 105. Cf. Raynouard, *l. c.*

<sup>73</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>74</sup> Gaston Paris to the contrary: ". . . il semble bien qu'il ait en vue une personne précise . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 248.

de l'imagination," to adopt the phrase of Gaston Paris.<sup>75</sup> Jaufre Rudel merely took what was a commonplace in Provençal, as in other literatures, and concentrated upon it. Hence the great amount of repetition in the small number of poems preserved to us. Hence some of the contradictions, inevitable where the artist is not drawing from life. That he may have really loved a lady, there is no denying; but it is more than doubtful if his lady bore any real relation to the conventional description which he gives, or was a faraway princess whom he never expected to behold, but who appeared vividly in his dreams. In the same way a modern swain, to gain the affections of "sweet Marie," with black hair, might sing of a more remote "sweet Alice," with "hair so brown."

The objection has probably occurred to the reader that the foregoing argument, if it established that the "princesse lointaine" of Jaufre Rudel was a mere *convention*, would prove with equal conclusiveness something of the sort for the lady celebrated by any of the other troubadours. Of course, it is far from my present intention to attempt so sweeping a generalization, although I venture to surmise that it is perhaps less preposterous than might appear at first glance. My feeling is that, despite our professions to the contrary, we are more under the influence of the legendary biographies than we admit. Indeed, it has happened often enough that writers on the lives of the troubadours—even the most recent, such as Anglade—while prefacing their work with protestations of disbelief in the *razos* and in the *vidas*, have unconsciously proceeded to follow the legends which they condemned. Doubtless the reason is that suggested by Gaston Paris concerning

<sup>75</sup> Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

Diez, that he "hésitait à couper la branche sur laquelle il était assis."<sup>76</sup>

In treating the palpable case of Jaufre Rudel, who belonged to a highly artificial and conventional school of poets, there is no necessity for involving the whole fabric of troubadour love-affairs. His allusions to his mistress are so unusually vague that many have felt that he was purposely obscure, while others have fled to opposite poles in their speculations on the identity of his beloved. Perhaps many other love-affairs of the troubadours, which present less doubt and cause less speculation, would not be seriously related to the foregoing discussion.

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<sup>76</sup> Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 234.